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IIH

Cobbett

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C. B. B.

PORCUPINE REVIVED,

OR

An Old Thing made New;

BEING

1. AN ARGUMENT AGAINST THE EXPEDIENCY OF A WAR,
WITH ENGLAND.
2. AN EXPOSITION OF THE ABSURDITY OF SENDING AL-
BERT GALLATIN TO TREAT WITH THE BRITISH.

BY WILLIAM COBBET.

WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES AND COMMENTS,

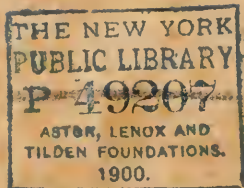
"Multum continetur in parvo."

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.
1900.

DEDICATION.

TO HONEST ENQUIRING MEN OF ALL PARTIES.

I TAKE the liberty to dedicate the following pages to you. It may perhaps appear singular that I attempt the dedication of a work of which another man is principally the author. My conduct in this respect would seem strange even to myself, did I not remember that I am justified by the example of Cobbet himself, who, as I well recollect, some years ago, dedicated to the *Honorable Thomas Erskine* a political pamphlet, of which his honor was the sole author. Besides, in the same dedication Cobbet very liberally abused his author. In two respects, then, I differ from, and have the advantage of Cobbet. 1st. That I do not abuse my author to his face; and, 2d. That I do not insult those to whom my dedication is made. To honest enquiring men *of all parties* I dedicate this work. To *honest enquiring democrats*; because I am sensible they will value *any* writings of Cobbet, seeing the estimation in which his later productions are held by them. To *enquiring federalists* also; because although they think less of the author since his apprenticeship in *New-Gate*, yet as the ensuing pages were written by him before his political apostacy, his former friends and admirers will doubtless re-peruse them with pleasure.



PREFACE.

THE following pages are from the pen of *William Cobbet*, commonly known in this country by the feigned name of *Peter Porcupine*. They were written about the time that the democrats in this country were making use of every effort to prevail upon Gen. Washington to reject Jay's treaty, and to involve us in a war with Great-Britain. Fortunately for us, their efforts then proved ineffectual. Although the father of his country was assailed and threatened by his democratic enemies in every part of the Union; although the Legislature of Virginia abused him, and some of the patriotic Virginians actually published threats of an attempt to dissolve the Union* in case the expected ratification should take place, yet did our federal president, disregarding the clamors of demagogues, persist in his determination, and ratify the treaty, which has since proved of incalculable benefit to the nation.

As the following pages are devoted to two very interesting subjects, viz. a war with England, and the mission of Mr. Gallatin, it is to be hoped that they will be read with attention by all parties.

In copying from Mr. Cobbet, some few expressions not precisely applicable to the present day are omitted; but *nothing is added*, except in the form of notes.

* *The following is proof of the above assertion.*

“RICHMOND, (CAPITAL OF VIRGINIA.)

“*Notice is hereby given,*

“That in case the Treaty entered into by that d——d Arch Traitor J——n
“J——y with the *British tyrant*, should be ratified, a petition will be presented
“to the next General Assembly of Virginia, at their next session, praying that
“the said state may *recede from the Union*, and be left under the government
“and protection of ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND FREE AND INDEPENDENT VIR-
“GINIANS.”

“P. S. As it is the wish of the people of the said state to enter into a
“treaty of *Amity, Commerce and Navigation*, with any other State, or States
“of the *present Union*, who are averse to returning again under the galling
“yoke of Great-Britain, the Printers of the (*at present*) United States are
“requested to publish the above notification.

Richmond, July 30th, 1795.”



ARGUMENTS,

TO PROVE THE IMPOLICY OF A WAR BETWEEN THIS COUNTRY AND GREAT-BRITAIN.

WAR is at all times and to all countries dreadful in its effects, but to no country and at no time was it ever so dreadful, as *it would now be to America*. This is not a warlike nation, nor has this nation a warlike government. In a war with any nation whatever, this country can gain nothing, and *in a war with Great-Britain it has every thing to lose.**

When assertions like these are advanced, the advocates for war turn, with imaginary triumph, to the result of the last war. They tell us that America was victorious, and that the country is now much more populous and rich than it was then. In the first place, what did this country gain by the last war? If *Independence* was a *gain*, it was the only gain. I shall not dwell on the *losses*: those who have had their houses burnt about their ears; those who have been pillaged, plundered, robbed of their property; those who are now starving with bundles of continental money under their roofs; those who have lost their children or their parents, do not need to be reminded of the losses of that war. If *Independence* was the *only* gain of last war,

* It is an unquestionable fact that in only one year, during which the present war has been waged, TWELVE THOUSAND *native Americans* have been killed, wounded, taken prisoners, or died in nauseous dungeons.—[Editor.]

what is to be the gain of another? The *warriors* (alias, *war-hawks*) do not pretend that we could go and take Great-Britain! they do not pretend that we could take Jamaica; they do not pretend even that we could take Bermuda. What then can we take? Why—CANADA. This is the burthen of their song, or rather *war-whoop*. *With this, they divert the rabble*, and sharpen their fangs for war and conquest. If you ask them how they would do this, they tell you that *men* are not wanting; that *four hundred thousand* would turn out volunteer against Great-Britain. I believe that twice that number would turn out for a field-day, with sticks and staves, and return very peaceably home to supper; but would they do this two days running? If I am to judge from experience; from the infinite difficulty had to assemble a force of fifteen thousand men on a recent occasion, I should reduce this army of four hundred thousand men to three or four battalions.

I will suppose the people to *have but one sentiment*: I will suppose one hundred thousand men ready to submit themselves to all the rigour of military discipline, and all the hardships inseparable from actual service. I will suppose them all heroes, ready to “seek the bubble honour in the cannon’s mouth,” and I will suppose a Washington at their head. Yet these heroes must eat and must have some kind of covering too, and this will cost money. In short I have made a little calculation of the expence of fifty thousand men, *ten* armed vessels, *ten* galleys, with all the necessary officers, horses, wag-gons, cannon &c. &c. and I find the amount to be above TWENTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS* annually, a sum

* The present annual expence of supporting the military and naval establishments of the U. S. is double the sum above computed by Mr. Cobbet. It amounts at least to 60,000,000 dollars.—[Editor.]

three times as great as the present revenue of the United States. Can any sober man look at this, and imagine this country fit to engage in a war? As to *loans*, where are they to be obtained? In France or in Holland? The very mention of those countries on such a subject, excites laughter. Domestic loans; who will lend a sixpence? Taxes? there will be nothing but houses and lands to tax. *Commerce will be no more.* The enemy will let nothing out of our ports or into them. In a word, it is absolutely impossible for this country to equip any thing like a creditable force, without having recourse to *paper currency and requisitions*. I care not who differs from me in opinion, this opinion I give as my own, and if war is declared, I shall see it verified.*

As *doing injury to Great-Britain* is the strongest stimulus to war in this country, I shall now take a view of the extent of that injury in the present instance. As to the taking of *Canada*, *I do not believe it probable.*† There are men in that country as well as this, and they are better men, too, if we believe those debased wretches, who tell us that one Frenchman is worth three of their own ancestors. At any rate, they are men, *they are at home*, they have eight or nine regular regiments and a train of artillery, such as this country will not have in fifty years to come, *engineers* and other ex-

* Mr. Cobbet's opinion *has been* verified.

† How much more sensible and judicious are the remarks of Mr. Cobbet, upon the subject of the "*Conquest of Canada*," than the boastings of the war-hawks before the war, with Mr. Calhoun at their head. They one and all declared that in *six weeks* after the declaration of war should be made, the conquest of Canada would be complete. The *eventus rei* fully proves the absurdity of their predictions.—[Editor.]

perienced officers.* When the warriors talk about taking Canada, they forget that there is any body to defend it. To be sure, the poor devils are subjects; but as they might get together twice the number of *citizens* marched against them, there is a possibility, at least, that they might lay some few of the latter dead upon the field.

By sea, a war with this country would not add a dollar to the expences of Great-Britain. She is already armed, and can very well spare a stout squadron for this coast. How this squadron *might be employed* I shall not point out; suffice it to say, that if doing *injury* should be the object of the British Court, *more could be done to us in one week, than we could do to Great-Britain in ten years.*

But we should starve their islands: no such thing. He who is master of the sea, may call himself master of the land. Those who have produce to sell, will sell it in spite of decrees and ordinances. The British would obtain all they wanted, just as they now do, with this advantage, that they would prevent their enemies from doing the same. The more I contemplate this subject, the more I am convinced that a war with America would be favourable to the cause in which Great-Britain is at present engaged.

Another reason for going to war, is, we should *injure* (always injure) the manufacturers in Great-Britain;

* It will be observed that in opposing the "*engineers and other experienced officers*" of Canada Mr. Cobbet supposes the American army would have *Washington* at their head. When instead of a *Washington*, we reflect that we have "*treacherous* Hulls*," "*gasconading* Smyths*," "*creeping* Dearborns*," how much is the force of Mr. Cobbet's argument strengthened!

[Editor.]

† *Terms given to these generals by the Baltimore Whig, a violent administration paper.*

to which I beg may be added, we should leave ourselves naked. People *vainly* suppose that the very existence of Great-Britain depends on her commerce with this country ; experience might have taught us the contrary : *she can do without our trade for a dozen years at a time.* Nor would such a contraction of her commerce at the present time, and *in the present case*, cause any discontent in that country. Our behaviour would unite the nation, and the Englishman that would not patiently bear a temporary inconvenience or distress, that would not even spend his last shilling to enable, his king to revenge the perfidy of this country, ought to be stripped to his skin, nay *of* his skin into the bargain. The fact is, that besides wanting the aid of France, this country would also want the aid of the English in this war: and this would be one of the great differences between this war and the last. Last war, addresses to the people of England did much : some of those who came to fight for the king, took very good care to fight *against* him : soldiers and sailors came to desert to their *brothers*, who were combating in a cause, which was pretty generally looked upon as the cause of Britons. *Things are now changed.* Doctor Franklin, were he to rise from the dead, would not now be heard at the bar of the House of Lords. No English Lord, *after the fate of Lord Chatham's statue* at Charleston, will ever take upon him the cause of this country, unless, indeed, it be the earl of Stanhope, who wishes to be hanged. Doctor Priestly is no longer alive, and therefore he can do his country no more harm. Let those who have called for all the thunderbolts in the stores of heaven, to be hurled on the British,* expect from them all the mischief they can possibly do.

* General "Thunder and Lightning" Williams, of South-Carolina, must have borrowed his sublime ideas from the above sentence when he declared

I know that such language as this is unusual in this country. It would be much more pleasing to dwell on the power of the United States, and the deeripid state of Great-Britain; but I am no candidate for popular favour or applause. I delight in speaking hard truths, and besides, this is not the time for jesting or flattery.

I have hitherto proceeded upon the supposition, that the people of this country would be all united in the cause of the war. But how far would this be from the case! almost all the rich, almost all the people of property would be opposed to it. There is another and still more dangerous kind of division which would finally end in a dissolution of the Union. I mean the division of the North from the South. The enemies of peace in the House of representatives are to be found mostly in the Southern States. Can it be imagined that the honest and industrious people of the North, will suffer themselves to be dragged down to perdition merely to satisfy the unprincipled vengeance of a nest of *fraudulent debtors*? Can it be imagined that the New-Englanders will tamely suffer the *Lords* of Virginia to sport with their prosperity and happiness, as they do with barrels of rice and tobacco at a cock-match? Common sense forbids us to believe any such thing.

in congress, that his animosity against England was so violent, that "had he the command of the red artillery of heaven, he would soon drive that fast anchored isle from her moorings." Such blasphemy disgusted all men of sense. But it appears it had not such an effect upon the nerves of our good President, who since the delivery of this great speech, has appointed the speaker a brigadier general in the U. S. army; although this same Williams violently opposed Mr. Madison's first election to the presidency, and together with John Randolph, Matthew Lyon, Josiah Masters, and other democrats, published the reason for their opposition to Mr. Madison. Who will hereafter pretend that Mr. Madison does not *love his enemies*!—[Editor.]

Finally, do we wish to witness all those cruelties, those frightful horrors, that freeze the blood and make us ashamed of our species? * If, we do, a war at the present moment will infallibly bring us the object of our wishes, and we shall do well to second the endeavours of the *Madisons* and the *Gallatins*.

* Soon after the declaration of war, scenes took place in Baltimore in which we witnessed "*those cruelties, those frightful horrors that freeze the blood and make us ashamed of our species*"

AN EXPOSURE

Of the absurdity of sending Albert Gallatin to treat with the British.

Mr. Cobbet supposes an envoy to be sent from the United States to treat with the British, and thus proceeds. That all may be of a piece, I shall suppose this envoy to be the immaculate *Mr. Gallatin*. If this respectable personage should be admitted to an interview with Lord Grenville,* of which I much doubt, the following dialogue would probably take place.

Lord Grenville. Your most obedient, Sir. What may have procured us the honour of this Extraordinary Envoy from our very good friends the United States?

Mr. Gallatin. Vy, me Lort, de Citizens Sovereigns of my country dit send me to make a treaty vit your's king.

Lord Grenville, (aside). I wonder where his country is?—Sir, I fear here is some mistake. Pray Sir, permit me to ask, of what country you are a citizen?

* Or whoever else should be the British commissioner.

Mr. Gallatin. I am born Citizen of Geneva, but—

Lord Grenville, (interrupting him). But, now you are a Citizen of France, I suppose. It is my duty to inform you, Sir, that the king, my master, authorises me to open no negotiations with any person acting under the direction of regicides and common stabbers.—Here! Tom! Show this Citizen down stairs; and, do you hear! don't let him come behind you.

Tom, (taking the Envoy by the shoulder). Come, come, go along, go along, my good fellow. I will wonder where the stupid porter was, that this ill-looking fellow got up stairs.

Mr. Gallatin, (resisting). But, me Lort, hear me von vort. Though I was born Citizen Genevese, I am now Citizen American;* and I am sende to you's king by me sovereigns, to make a treaty vit him. Here, me Lort, are me credentials, (pulling out papers).

Lord Grenville. But, Sir, previous to examining your papers, may I beg to be informed how it came to pass, that the Americans should choose for the representative of their nation, or for a representative of any kind, a foreigner, and a foreigner too, whose looks are not calculated to produce a prepossession in their favour?

Mr. Gallatin. *Bella di fuori, e dentro ha la magagna.*

Lord Grenville. I have heard of such a proverb, Sir; I believe, however, that your inside is as bad as your out-

* **Mr. Gallatin** has, I am told, founded a new town in the Whisky country, which he has named *New-Geneva*.—A fellow transported some years ago, to a certain State not far from the Potowmac, christened his cabin, *New-New-gate*: It was, I presume in imitation of this worthy *emigrant*, that our Italian gave the name of his little native *municipal jail*, to an American town. I would advise him to suffer none but imported Savoyards (in French synonymous with *chimney-sweeps*) to settle in it; and, then, as the saying is, he will have a little hell of his own.—[Cobbet.]

side. I do not believe that insurrection face of your's belies your heart.

Mr. Gallatin. Insurrection! me Lort! vy it is the very first article in the bill of rights. I have made von insurrection in the mountains of Pennsylvane, dat is vy I am representative.

Lord Grenville. Upon my word, it is a curious qualification. Your papers, Sir, if you please.

Mr. Gallatin. Dere de are, me Lort, in de veritable revolutionary style.

Lord Grenville, (reading).—"produced great disputes and divisions—has been declared invalid—will not grant the sums—into effect—changed the constitution—hopes that the magnanimity of his majesty—wish to preserve peace and good understanding.

Mr. Gallatin. Yes, me Lort, vee vishes to lif in de peas and goot understanding.

Lord Grenville. I am afraid you deceive yourselves, if you imagine our august monarch will live in peace and good understanding with you upon your terms; and so, sir, I heartily wish you a safe return over the Atlantic.

Mr. Gallatin. But, me Lort, hear me von oder vort.

Lord Grenville. Not one, upon my honour: I have heard you too long already; besides, we are busy here settling the affairs of your friends the French: after that's done, you may hear from us.—Tom, conduct the Citizen into the street.

Lord Grenville. (solus) Can it be possible that the Americans are so poor in talents, so debased in principle, as to entrust their public affairs to an European adventurer, the leader of an insurrection! Can these people be so degenerated? I blush to think them the offspring of Britons. Blessed forever be the laws of Old England, *that*

*exclude all foreigners from public offices. These wretches are now tearing the government of America to pieces as the subtle and intriguing Neckar did that of France. They join themselves to the restless rabble of every country, flatter their passions and prejudices, make war upon the rich, divide the spoil, and then retire to their own country to devour it.**

* How strong and prophetic these two last sentences are !

REMARKS
UPON THE PRECEDING PAGES.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT may be asked perhaps, why I as a federalist bring *Mr. Cobbet* in support of our party, which has generally denounced him. To this it is answered, that my conduct is justifiable on the score of *retaliation* since the democratic printers are in the habit of adducing *Cobbet's* writings in support of their cause. The *Ministerial Gazettes*, copiously extract and carefully republish such of our author's later essays, as are aimed against the federal party. In addition to this, it is well known that *Robert Wright* a democratic member of congress, lately had the temerity in that honourable body, to quote *Cobbet's* accusations against the editors of the *Georgetown Federal Republican*, as proof of their corruption. If then, the democrats, even on the floor of congress, refer to our author's testimony in favour of their doctrines, most certainly the federalists have an equal right to *cross examine* the same witness, especially, when by such *cross examination*, the eyes of many people may be opened to view the real situation and interests of this country.

A material distinction is however to be observed, between the weight of *Mr. Cobbet's* testimony and arguments, during his residence in this country, and the testimony and arguments which he now publishes. While he resided in America. (in which period the foregoing

pages were written,) he was the uniform advocate of General *Washington* and his political measures. By attaching himself to the right side, our author's arguments although sometimes perhaps overstrained, were yet *in the main* necessarily correct.

Since his return to England, by the wild inconsistency of his political conduct, he has become an object of derision to all parties, and for his imprudence in *libelling* has spent a year or two in *Newgate* prison. After *graduating* in that institution, he most ungratefully turned against his former patrons, and now justifies those whom he had before assailed with great success.

Such conduct, it appears has gained him the *well wishes* of his former political enemies on this side of the Atlantic, and has secured to him the applauses of our ministerial papers.*

A candid mind from these considerations, will readily admit, that the works of our author previous to his political apostacy are entitled to much greater weight and credit than his later publications.

It is surprising that he could have described so accurately 17 years ago, the *present* condition of these United States. The arguments which he then supposed the enemies of peace would urge in favour of hostilities with England, are the same in substance, as are offered at this day, and the perfect refutation of the absurdity of those arguments is the same which the friends of peace now advance.

The effects and consequences of this foolish war have been such as our author anticipated. Most of his predictions have been literally verified, and I heartily pray

* Vide the files of the *National Intelligencer*, *Aurora*, *National Advocate*, &c.

that the remainder may not also be fulfilled. Mr. Cobbet thought that in case war was made by America upon England, the measure would be adopted to gratify "*a nest of fraudulent debtors*,"† and that in consequence thereof—"Commerce would be no more"—"*The enemy would let nothing out of our ports or into them—almost all the people of property would be opposed to the war—and it would finally end in a dissolution of the Union.*"

All these predictions have already been fulfilled, except the last, which I trust will not be accomplished; as I hope our rulers will acknowledge the error of their ways, and retrace their steps, before *extremities* shall be resorted to by the *injured states*.

Instead of *twenty millions of dollars*, being the amount of the annual expenditures of the United States in consequence of the war, as our author supposes, I am informed upon unquestionable authority, that the most intelligent calculators in congress have estimated the expences of the *present campaign only*, to amount to between *sixty and seventy millions of dollars*; an enormous sum! which it will require ages of prosperity to redeem.

In the midst of the distress of the war, we must submit to the imposition of heavy *taxes*; yes, to those very *taxes*, which our great *Genevan financier*, fomented a rebellion to resist. Can that author of insurrection expect the people to submit quietly to taxes, the collection of which he himself, in the days of *Washington*, attempted to repel by force?

† The reader will doubtless recollect, that immediately after the declaration of war, many of the Southern States passed *stop-laws*, which prevented the collection of debts due from citizens of the South, to those of the Northern States.

With respect to the mission of the *Genevan*, the absurdity of which Mr. *Cobbet* exposes with great force, I am much gratified with the intelligence just received from Washington, that the nomination of Mr. *Gallatin* as a commissioner to treat with the British, has been rejected by our “*uncourtly Senate*.”* This was received after the former part of this pamphlet was prepared for publication.

This vote of the Senate will, it is hoped, teach Mr. *Madison* a lesson of prudence, which he will do well to observe hereafter; viz. *not to hurry off foreign insurgents to Europe, to make treaties in behalf of the United States; without previously obtaining the consent of the proper authority.*

The vote of the Senate upon this question, shews the great importance of the exertions made by the federalists since the war, in the states of New-Hampshire, New-York and Maryland. Last year, those states were in part, represented in the Senate, by Messrs. *Cutts*, *Smith* and *Reed*, who were democrats. In place of these members, Messrs. *Mason*, *King* and *Goldsborough*, all federalists, have been elected. *Smith* and *Cutts* and perhaps also Col. *Reed*, had they continued in office, would in all probability, have voted to confirm the nomination of Mr. *Gallatin*, and thus the president would have commanded a majority in the Senate.

* Our “*uncourtly Senate*” has also rejected the nomination of *Jonathan Russel* as minister to Sweden, upon the ground that we want no ambassador to the court of Marshal *Bernadotte*. *Jonathan* has, it appears, a peculiar “*habitual facility*” in *failing* in his plans. He *failed* in his diplomatic warfare with Lord *Castlereagh*; he *failed* in attempting to be elected to congress from Rhode-Island; I am afraid he also *failed* in entirely exculpating himself about the *Webster-resolution* business; and he now *fails* in his endeavours to get a mission to Sweden.—*Hinc ille lachryme!*

By rejecting the nomination an additional disgrace has been warded off from our country ; and to use the strong language before quoted, which Mr. Cobbet ascribes to Lord Grenville, the Senate have proved that the Americans are not yet “ *so poor in talents, so debased in principle, as to entrust their public affairs to an European adventurer, the leader of an insurrection !!*”

☞ Lest some of my readers may have forgotten the manner in which our secretary of the treasury exerted himself to raise a rebellion, the following account is republished.

From *Bache's* paper, Sept. 1, 1792.

“ At a meeting of sundry inhabitants of the western counties of Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh, on the 21st August, 1792, Col. *John Cannon* was placed in the chair, and ALBERT GALLATIN appointed clerk.

The *excise* law of congress being taken into consideration, a committee was appointed to prepare a draught of resolutions, expressing the sense of the meeting on the subject of said law.”

The following is one of the several resolutions reported by the committee and unanimously adopted.

“ And whereas some men be found amongst us so far lost to every sense of virtue and feeling for the distress of this country, as to accept offices for collection of the duty ;

Resolved therefore that in future, we will consider such persons unworthy our friendship, “ *have no intercourse or dealings with them, withdraw from them every assistance, and withhold all the comforts of life,*” which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow citizens we owe to each other, and upon all occasions treat them with that contempt they deserve, and that it be and is hereby most earnestly recommended to the people at large, to follow the same kind of conduct towards them.

(Signed)

John Cannon, chairman,
Albert Gallatin, clerk.”

I will here relate another circumstance not much to the credit of Mr. *Gallatin*, which most people seem to have forgotten. While Congress, our *Genevan* hero attempted to impeach Judge *Hopkinson*, upon what ground do you suppose gentle reader ? Simply, because he had been told by one *Donaldson*, that Judge *Hopkinson* had been guilty of a misdemeanor. Mr. *Gallatin* neither had nor produced any further evidence or reasons in support of the impeachment ; but strenuously contended, that inasmuch as *Donaldson* was an officer of government, his *bare word, without an oath*, was sufficient to justify an impeachment !!! However the *Genevan* failed, and reason and common sense triumphed.

I have hitherto deferred giving the reader the *Ayes* and *Noes* on the question concerning Mr. Gallatin's nomination. Here they follow, and (to borrow *Cobbet's* words,) "the reader will do well to recollect, that however they may shift hereafter, this is the list to which he may at all times refer, to know who are the friends, and who are the *enemies* of the government, constitution, peace and prosperity of the Union."

On the question for confirming the nomination.

AYES.

Messrs. Varnum, Chase, Howell, Robinson, Condict, Iacock, Brent, Turner, Taylor, Bullock, Tait, Bibb, Bledsoe, Campbell, Morrow, Worthington and Brown, 17.

NOES.

Messrs. Mason, Gilman, Gore, Hunter, Dagget, Dana, German, King, Lambert, Leib, Horsey, Goldsborough, Smith, Giles, Stone, Gaillard, Anderson and Fromentin, 18.

All the federal members who were present* voted as was expected, against the nomination. Messrs. Lambert, Gilman and German being moderate democrats, and having opposed the restriction systems, and war measures, had been calculated upon as opponents to the nomination. I had also depended upon the vote of Mr. Giles in the negative, as I could not forget the sarcastic manner in which he treated Mr. Gallatin's "splendid financiering talents" some two or three years ago, in a speech in the Senate: in which speech, he also paid a just tribute of respect to the memory of HAMILTON, to whom Mr. Giles ascribed all the merit of establishing our financiering system; and who he said,

* Mr. Wells of Delaware was absent, but would have voted in the Negative.

had opened the road, and made it so plain and obvious, that any succeeding secretary must be a dolt not to understand and follow it.

With regard to general *Smith*, it was believed that he would oppose the nomination, as it is understood that *Mr. Gallatin* was privy to the *court intrigue*,* which occasioned the sudden resignation of *Robert Smith*, the general's brother.

* That the reader may understand the force and meaning of the expression "*court intrigue*," as above applied, I will be more explicit.

I have been informed by a gentleman of undoubted veracity, who is an intimate friend of one of the parties hereafter named, that during the spring or summer previous to *Robert Smith's* resignation, (I think in 1810,) *James Madison*, *James Monroe*, and *John Talliaferro*, Esqrs. assembled according to previous arrangement, at a certain house in Virginia. [Whether *Mr. Jefferson* was present at this meeting, I was not informed, but if he was not, he was certainly aware of its taking place.]

As some misunderstanding had prevailed between Messrs. *Madison* and *Monroe*, (both gentlemen having been rival candidates at the previous presidential election,) it was at this time agreed by the parties, to bury all animosities. *Mr. Monroe* was to renounce all opposition in future, to the President, and the President, as a *quid pro quo*, was to bestow the office of Secretary of State upon the Colonel, in place of *Robert Smith*.

Whether the President and the Colonel, together with their friend *Mr. Talliaferro*, then devised the "*ways and means*" in and by which *Mr. Smith* should "back out," I have not ascertained; but am strongly inclined to think that they did so, from a variety of circumstances. Among these circumstances, one is the *odd deportment* of the President towards *Mr. Smith*, at several periods previous to the resignation, as detailed in *Mr. Smith's* pamphlet.—Another circumstance is the awkward offer to the ex-secretary of a mission to St. Petersburg, as a "*make up*" for the stigma cast upon him by his sudden departure from office.

If in the relation of the above transactions I have mistated any particular, through misinformation, the friends of the President and his secretary are requested to contradict me, as I do not wish to publish any thing but the naked truth.

To General *Leib* and to Messrs. *Stone*, *Gaillard*, *Anderson* and *Fromentin*, I tender my warmest thanks, for the independent line of conduct which (unexpectedly to me,) they appear to have pursued.

AN AMERICAN.

Saturday, July, 24, 1813.

ERRATA.

- At the bottom of the Dedication, read **THE EDITOR**.
 At the bottom of the 8th page, for *double*, read *treble*.
 The words "longer alive and," in the 11th page, 5th line from the bottom, should be included in brackets, as being inserted by the editor.

